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CHALLENGE

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FOR JACOB BLAKE

REBEL AGAINST RACISM

KENOSHA, WISCONSIN, August 26—When police fired seven shots into Jacob Blake in the back while his three children watched, workers and youth in Kenosha erupted in rebellion. As they should.

U.S. capitalism's defenders, the police, have once again proven themselves to be a terrorist force that must be abolished. To do so, the rebels need communist politics and revolution.

Some antiracists, including Progressive Labor Party, have learned from the protests that rumbled in every U.S. city following the recent police murders of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Rayshard Brooks in Atlanta and Breonna Taylor in Louisville, Kentucky. One such lesson is that nothing scares the rulers more than multiracial unity and Black leadership from the working class. As CHALLENGE goes to press, PLP is bringing solidarity to the bold Kenosha fighters (see next issue).

Jacob Blake's Kenosha

Seven-and-a-half year veteran cop Rusten Sheskey shot Jacob. The other bad cop that aided in this attempted murder was Luke Courtier, a cop known for posting, "It was a good shot" about the 2014 police murder-by-14-shots of Dontre Hamilton, a Black man with schizophrenia. The racist kkkops paralyzed Jacob from the waist down after one of the seven bullets severed his spinal cord, shattered some of his vertebrae, and damaged his stomach, kidneys, and liver. The racist trauma these police caused to Jacob, his family, and children is unforgivable.

Jacob's family has a pro-working class history; his grandfather was a pastor who fought for fair housing in the 1960s and 1970s. When they moved to Kenosha, it was to start over. Kenosha was an auto-manufacturing center for a century until the capitalist crisis led workers to lose their livelihoods. As of 2019, nearly 20 percent of workers live in official poverty. Police chief Daniel Miskinis's goons are known for drawing guns for something as small as a routine traffic stop. Routine systemic racism and the decay of U.S. capitalism seem to be on full display in this city.

Two repulsive ruling class responses

The Small Fascist Republicans are openly appealing to racist police terror and Klan-type vigilantism, an ideology that led a white 17-year-old, Kyle Howard Rittenhouse, to shoot and kill protesters in Kenosha with a rifle. A country that alienates Black, Latin, and immigrant workers has little chance in galvanizing those same people to defend U.S. imperialism against rivals like China (see page 4). This is the motivation behind the Big Fascists' response.

The Big Fascists, the main finance capitalists of the ruling class, wasted no time in co-opting protests and sending out their apologists. Opportunist Al Sharpton spoke with Jacob's father, who will now speak at Sharpton's March on Washington commemoration on Friday. Liberal Joe Biden, hoping to be elected president in two months, said the police shots "pierce the soul of our nation." This is the same man who wrote the bipartisan 1994 Crime Bill that intensified the war on Black and Latin workers. This is just one of several laws that Biden helped

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OUR FIGHT

☆Progressive Labor Party (PLP) fights to destroy capitalism and the dictatorship of the capitalist class. We organize workers, soldiers and youth into a revolutionary movement for communism.

☆The dictatorship of the working class — communism—can provide a lasting solution to the disaster that is today's world for billions of people. This cannot be done through electoral politics, but requires a revolutionary movement and a mass Red Army led by PLP.

☆Worldwide capitalism, in its relentless drive for profit, inevitably leads to war, fascism, poverty, disease, starvation and environmental destruction. The capitalist class, through its state power — governments, armies, police, schools and culture — maintains a dictatorship over the world's workers. The capitalist dictatorship supports, and is supported by, the anti-working-class ideologies of racism, sexism, nationalism, individualism and religion.

☆While the bosses and their mouthpieces claim "communism is dead," capitalism is the real failure for billions worldwide. Capitalism returned to Russia and China because socialism retained many aspects of the profit system, like wages and privileges. Russia and China did not establish communism.

☆Communism means working collectively to build a worker-run society. We will abolish work for wages, money and profits. While capitalism needs unemployment, communism needs everyone to contribute and share in society's benefits and burdens.

☆Communism means abolishing racism and the concept of "race." Capitalism uses racism to super-exploit Black, Latin, Asian and indigenous workers, and to divide the entire working class.

☆Communism means abolishing the special oppression of women— sexism—and divisive gender roles created by the class society.

☆Communism means abolishing nations and nationalism. One international working class, one world, one Party.

☆Communism means that the minds of millions of workers must become free from religion's false promises, unscientific thinking and poisonous ideology. Communism will triumph when the masses of workers can use the science of dialectical materialism to understand, analyze and change the world to meet their needs and aspirations.

☆Communism means the Party leads every aspect of society. For this to work, millions of workers — eventually everyone — must become communist organizers. Join Us!

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WHO WRITES FOR CHALLENGE?

CHALLENGE is for the working class, produced by the working class. The fact that CHALLENGE/PLP articles are not signed grows from PLP's criticism of the cult of the individual in the former socialist Soviet Union and China. We do not want to encourage the possibility of building up a "following" around any particular individual.

While an article may be written by one person, the final version is based on collective discussion and criticism. Many times this collective discussion even precedes an individual's writing of an article.

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Editorial

Capitalist bosses plague Colombia

As Colombia's "Democratic Center" ruling party and its liberal opposition intensify their capitalist dogfight to control the paltry $250 million (U.S.) from the World Bank to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic, millions of workers and their families have been left infected, jobless, and hungry. The masses lack access to the most basic medical services to detect and treat the coronavirus. Nor are they getting the economic aid supposedly set aside for sickened workers. Instead, the money is stolen by organized crime organizations that terrorize the country with deadly violence against workers.

To protect the bosses' profits, the government led by President Ivan Duque has ordered the reopening of production to stimulate the rulers' economy. Meanwhile, the liberal and fake-left opposition backs the five-month, ineffective nationwide quarantine, demanding that people stay home while ignoring a growing wave of starvation. As workers hang red distress flags and rags from their windows, the government does nothing to solve "the food crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic" (Revista Semana, 4/13).

Against this panorama of corruption, neglect, brutality, and bald-faced lies, the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is fighting alongside the working class in Colombia. We are constantly looking for ways to attack racism and sexism, hunger and slave labor, individualism and reformism—to eradicate the pandemic of capitalism. As the inter-imperialist rivalry for markets, natural resources, and cheap labor intensifies, the worldwide Covid-19 crisis is also an opportunity for the international working class to advance its struggle to organize a mass revolutionary communist movement, smash the bosses' system, and establish an egalitarian society run by and for workers.

Vaccine, imperialism and cardboard coffins

According to official statistics, the pandemic has killed more than 18,000 people in Colombia, with more than 10,000 new cases reported each day (worldometers.info). Given the extreme shortage of testing, the real death toll is doubtless much higher. Funeral homes are so overwhelmed that a team of Colombian designers developed a cardboard hospital bed that converts into a coffin (guardian.com, 5/27). Many of the dead are migrant workers, who are even more vulnerable to the pandemic after losing their jobs. They are evicted and end up living in the streets, with no physical distancing, adequate nourishment, electricity, medicine, or even drinkable water.

Despite the collapse of the country's healthcare system, the U.S.-leaning government has rejected a Cuban medical mission, healthcare supplies from China, and the possibility of a future vaccine from Russia. As the race to create a vaccine and control its distribution has created a new inter-imperialist battleground between the U.S., Britain, China, and Russia, deadly nationalism is moving the world closer to the next global conflict. As always under capitalism, there will be winners and losers. Poorer, super-exploited workers from poorer countries in Latin America and Africa will likely be left to fend for themselves. Since public health is a global proposition, and viruses know no borders, as Bollyky & Bown noted in The Tragedy of Vaccine Nationalism (2020), the competition "is not only morally and ethically reprehensible, but also contrary to every country's economic, strategic, and health interests." As long as capitalist science is an instrument for profit, the biggest losers in this race will be the workers of the world.

Liberals unleash killer cops

The Colombian bosses' knives are out—for each other as well as for the working class. On August 4, ex-President Alvaro Uribe, the Democratic Center party founder, was placed under house arrest for bribing witnesses in a case involving fascist paramilitary death squads (npr.org, 8/5). Uribe's former right-wing allies, who defend the racist politics of U.S. President Donald Trump, are pushing the renewed militarization that recently killed more than 30 people in rural Colombia (El Tiempo). The latest atrocities echo the 50-year, U.S.-backed, anti-communist massacre of more than 220,000 people, most of them civilians (National Center for Historical Memory).

The opposition liberals, who call themselves the new "political center," favor reformist environmentalism, empty rhetoric on human rights, and the European-style social democracy promoted by Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in the U.S. They've shown their true colors in the capital city of Bogota, where Mayor Claudia Lopez, the open lesbian liberal who may be the second most powerful politician in the country, campaigned to put more killer cops on the streets (bbc.com, 10/28/19). Lopez has unleashed the paramilitary ESMAD, the notoriously lethal "riot" police, to attack hundreds of workers and students rebelling against the government's mismanagement of the pandemic.

As in the U.S. and elsewhere, the most dangerous enemies of the working class are the Big Fascist liberals, with their phony promises to create a more just and equal society—an impossibility in a capitalist system driven by maximum profit. In Colombia, the liberals' alliance with reformist environmentalists, feminists, and LGBTQ+ groups serves to discourage and mislead workers from fighting for communism—the only solution to their misery under capitalism. The fake left, represented by the central unions and parties like the MOIR (Independent and Revolutionary Workers Movement), are aligned with the capitalist bosses in China and Russia. Their focus is not to fight capitalism but to gain more influence—and a license to steal—within the government.

A world to win

In Colombia, in our collectives and in daily struggles with industrial workers, farmers, and students, we talk about the bosses' traps to deceive us and dissuade us from fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are organizing in the streets, the factories, and the homes to achieve the violent overthrow of the rotten capitalist system. Though the challenges are many, we have a world to win. Fight for communism! Join PLP!✪

A hot Red summer: the future is bright

NEW JERSEY, August 25—This year's twin pandemic of Covid-19 and police terror shed a light on the decline of the U.S. ruling class and proved yet again that capitalism fails our class. It is in this context of rising fascism that Progressive Labor Party (PLP) organized the annual Summer Project. The purpose of the Summer Project was to educate newer members about communism, learn about organizing in their places of work, school, and neighborhoods, strengthen relationships, and further develop our budding young leaders. The fact that PLP was able to execute the Project exemplifies the young leaders' commitment to building communist leaders.

In the span of two hot summer weeks, the red (communist) Project reached 50 multiracial and multigenerational women and men. Through the distribution of CHALLENGE, 1,500 people were exposed to communist literature. At its closing, four participants joined or recommitted to the Party, including Black and white students and teachers. Overall, a success in moving towards winning workers and students closer to a communist outlook! The Party has a bright future.

Learn to fight, fight to learn

The Summer Project, in Newark, NJ for the first time, consisted of a series of group discussions held physically distant and virtual, CHALLENGE distributions in Newark and nearby towns, and a few rallies.

Veteran PL'ers opened the Project with an introduction and history of PLP, an international party building an antiracist and antisexist movement for communism and advancing communist politics for 55 years.

In the wake of Covid-19, rising mass unemployment, along with the murders of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and countless others, it was important to analyze the ways the ruling class weaponizes identity politics to profit off the divisions of the working class. The study group discussions included the topics of capitalist ideology in media and hip-hop, communism, sexism, and immigration (see letters, page 6).

PLP aims to treat participants with the highest respect and encourage the highest commitment. We fight to learn and learn to fight. Everyone, regardless of experience was encouraged to advance the conversation with their unique perspectives.

During the discussion on communism, participants made the distinction between communism and socialism, the former being a society based on workers' power and elimination of the basis of all inequity while the latter is a halfway system that still tolerates inequities and other capitalist practices.

Another discussion explored how liberal misleaders like Bernie Sanders and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez learn to posture progressiveness on the road to build a nation ready for bigger wars. More importantly, how communism means that the exploiting class will be eliminated, which is the root of racist and sexist divisions. Workers would control all aspects of society.

CHALLENGE: door to door

Putting the theoretical into practice, PL'ers distributed CHALLENGE in Newark's Ivy Hill neighborhood, Bloomfield Ave, and, for the first time, in Stephen Crane Village, a working-class housing complex where the residents are predominantly Black and Latin. For years, residents have been subjected to decrepit housing conditions, and mismanagement from corrupt and indifferent slumlords. Stephen Crane lies on the border of Belleville, NJ near the Clara Maass Medical Center. A few PL'ers stood in front of Pat's Deli, where workers from the hospital often visited during their lunch hour, while others went door to door in the housing complex with CHALLENGE, speaking with the residents, encouraging them to inquire further if they were interested. PL'ers received a warm reception!

The future is bright

The Summer Project closed with a barbecue and reflections. A healthcare worker opened the program by discussing his journey to joining the Party (see letter, page 6). Another young worker who organizes undocumented migrant workers gave a talk about the contradictions of reform and revolution. A PL'er discussed the role of elections and why the Party slogan is "don't vote, organize!" Identity politics still remain a barrier to applying a class analysis to world events. Liberal misleaders are the main danger in the fight for a communist world, since they funnel working-class anger into allegiance to nationalism, fascism, and eventual war.

An undocumented student said, "I didn't know what capitalism was" before her introduction to PLP. She talked with her teacher, researched it independently, and participated in study groups. In fighting to learn, she realized how important it was to understand what it means to live under capitalism. This student wants to keep learning and fighting with PLP.

With students like her, the future is bright and red.✪

Caravan for communism: 'it was fire'

A caravan against capitalism invigorated participants and residents alike. About twelve cars drove through the streets of Newark with signs such as "Capitalism is the disease, Communism is the Cure" taped on both sides. Every car sported a red flag. Chants alternated between Spanish and English over instrumentals.

We chanted, "**Asian, Latin, Black and white Workers of the world unite"** to the beat of Megan Thee Stallion's "Savage."

Such creativity and vigor was met with pedestrians raising their fist in solidarity and drivers honking in support.

The height of the caravan was the loud response at a supermarket parking lot; people cheered, clapped, and inquired. Some didn't wait for CHALLENGE sellers to approach them; they took a copy themselves. As one PL'er described it, "it was fire."

The caravan ended in Kearny, NJ, a town known for being notoriously racist but with a growing Latin population. PL'ers rallied in front of a small apartment complex, chanting for communist revolution in English and Spanish before giving speeches.

An essential worker spoke out against the deplorable conditions of the nursing home where they worked, speaking on the lack of protection, and the horrible treatment the patients experience.

Another comrade spoke out against capitalism, stating that reforms or electing a "progressive" politician won't do any good when it is the system that needs to be destroyed.

The residents stayed, listened, and some took CHALLENGE. The local police kept driving up and down the street a few times, but we were not intimidated; we continued chanting.

Rebel against racism

Continued from page 1

write and sponsor (Vox, 6/20) that led to the New Jim Crow of mass incarceration. As a new senator, he had also worked with segregationist politicians to attack the integration efforts via school busing. So much for liberals being the lesser evil.

The state is violent

The bosses' media condemn what they called "a riot." Meanwhile, anyone with eyes has been witnessing the systematic violence of the Klan-in-blue. As youth and workers risked their health and lives in a pandemic to protest racist police murder, the bosses doubled down with more fascist terror.

The Democratic mayor, John Antaramian, installed a curfew and called on 125 soldiers from the National Guard, the military reserve force, to defend private property and the government. The police terrorized protesters with teargas and rubber bullets. This terror is not reformable; the origins of police go back to the hunters of enslaved Black people fighting for their freedom in the South and the terrorists to "dangerous" European immigrant workers in the North. Their role has not changed.

The truth is that the biggest instrument of violence, worldwide, is the bosses' state: their government, military forces, cops, courts, schools, and media. The capitalists murder millions every year through imperialist war, mass unemployment, deplorable health care, unaffordable housing, and the profit-driven poisoning of our air, water, and food. U.S. capitalism in particular was born out of the most violent looting of all: millions of workers and children from Africa were stolen and enslaved.

Rage led protesters to damage the symbols of daily oppression under capitalism: a kkkop car, courthouse, and commercial buildings. Of course, individual and spontaneous violence won't get workers what we need. Real and lasting change requires something more: organized mass violence to seize state power and make a new society run by and for the working class. You need an international communist party for that.

Black leadership with multiracial unity

The rebellions have proved yet again that Black workers are key to any real change and revolution. Our experience positions us to suffer the most under capitalism while having nothing to lose but our chains. The instincts of rebels are calling on the hundreds of years of revolts and fightbacks against slavery, racism, and imperialism.

The potential of the working class, when realized, has the power to build a new society from the ashes of this dying one. For that, we need all workers—Black, Latin, Asian, indigenous, immigrant, white—to reject every aspect of this inherently unequal system and its traps of electoral politics. Join PLP's movement for a lifetime of antiracism as we pave the path to communist revolution.✪

Students, family, teachers expose liberal misleadership, demand safe schools

NEW YORK CITY, August 3—Hundreds of teachers, students, and parents protested the unsafe plans to reopen city schools. They demanded smaller class sizes and the removal of police from schools. High school youth led chants, showed a promising pro-student element of working-class solidarity in this protest that began outside the teachers' union (UFT) headquarters and marched to City Hall. Progressive Labor Party (PLP) put forward communist ideas of building antiracist student-family-teacher unity with signs, a bullhorn, and CHALLENGE.

Multiracial fightback is growing

Some teachers opposed to reopening NYC schools have been motivated by an individualist, anti-student outlook that focuses strictly on their own safety. However, speakers at this protest overwhelmingly demonstrated concerns for students, families, and teachers alike.

Protesters rejected liberal misleaders like the NYC Mayor and Schools Chancellor with chants like, "Hey de Blasio/Carranza, what do you say? How many kids did you kill today?"

One speaker explicitly targeted Governor Andrew Cuomo, sold as competent and anti-Trump, who has a history of slashing healthcare budgets and closing hospitals.

This rally reflects the influence of the protests following the murder of George Floyd and other targets of racist police terror. Protesters welcomed chants that connected school reopenings to racism.

This shows that "safe schools" does not simply mean preventing the spread of Covid-19, but also the removal of police.

Notably, the rally began at UFT headquarters whose leadership is notorious for its historic racist and anti-communist collaboration with school bosses, going back to its inception.

Time and time again, the UFT has opposed antiracist initiatives by its members and by Black and Latin workers in the community. Their misleadership must be challenged.

In contrast with previous demonstrations organized by this caucus of the teachers' union, MORE (Movement of Rank & File Educators), this rally was broader and more multiracial. That said, they remain mired in reformism. Calling for "no school until it's safe" is not an "advanced" demand because capitalism will never create safe schools (see page 8).

To truly organize the working class, education workers must prioritize organizing students and their families against racism. This will create the unity necessary to defeat capitalism and create a communist world.

Mass budget cuts while bosses' profits soar

Instead of the great investment of resources and workers required to combat a pandemic, the bosses are already slashing school budgets. Democrat-run New York City has cut $400 million from this year's budget. Carranza admitted the net impact will be over a $1 billion loss (Staten Island Advance, 7/9) and also warned of a possible layoff of 9,000 teachers (Wall Street Journal, 8/20).

Yet, "Wall Street is enjoying a historic revival as the Federal Reserve and other central banks flooded the global economy with money" (NPR, 7/15). A study by the anti-poverty organization Oxfam found that "17 of the top 25 most profitable U.S. corporations, including Microsoft, Johnson & Johnson, Facebook, Pfizer, and Visa, are expected to make almost $85 billion more in 2020 than in previous years." U.S. billionaires also saw their wealth balloon by over $500 billion during the first three months of the pandemic.

Yet, the politicians cry, "there is no money" and still assure us that things are "safe" and "we are ready!" Reams of reports on schools' infrastructure show innumerable violations and years of deferred maintenance in the over 1500 city school buildings, many of which are 100 years old. Schools have been dangerous places for years!

Latin chancellor disregards Latin schools

New York City's schools chancellor, Richard Carranza, has a plan that will sacrifice Latin lives. While overall NYC infection rates are low, his plan is slated to send back the education workers of Sunset Park, a mainly-Latin neighborhood, where a higher infection rate (Wall Street Journal, 8/12) makes reopening schools there unsafe by any standard. An equity team composed of school staff and parents at P.S. 169 has sent a letter to mayor de Blasio, Carranza and governor Cuomo highlighting this racist risk of the current plan and demanding a system-wide school closure until the entire city's infection rates are low enough for everyone to return (Brooklyn Paper, 8/20).

Build student-teacher-family solidarity

Capitalism is and always will be violent. Whichever way school resumes in the fall, capitalist schools will continue to be abject failures for students.

Education workers and students need to step up to train ourselves as leaders inside our schools: in our classrooms (virtual or otherwise), through various clubs, school committees, and study groups, and in the teachers' union, uniting with parents. We will need to push for what's in the best interest of students and put antiracism front and center.

With PLP's leadership, we can strengthen unity among parents, teachers, and students—all while building solidarity with custodial, healthcare, and transit workers to protect one another. Organizing demonstrations, community forums, and work actions will show other workers the power of a united multiracial working class and build a communist movement.

The road to combat the devastation created by capitalism is long. But we have a tremendous opportunity now to expose capitalism's utter disregard for the working class and its inability to run society. We truly have a world to win! Join PLP!✪

Democrats: the party of war and fascism

At the Democratic National Convention (DNC) the imperialist Big Fascists put on display the political coalition that they hope can defeat Donald Trump and the Small Fascists that he represents. The Big Fascists are going all out, calling on their fake progressives, various military leaders, and anti-Trump Republican Party leaders to fight off the Small Fascists.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) maintains that these liberal politicians, representing the Big Fascists, are the greater threat to the working class. They want to build multiracial support for reforms that will feed their drive towards war against imperialist rivals, China and Russia. PLP says that workers from different countries have no interest in killing each other. The whole damn capitalist system has to go. Workers should run the world–that's communism.

Big Fascists vs Small Fascists

If it's not just electoral politics between the Republicans and Democrats, then what's going on? There's a split between two capitalist factions: the Big Fascists and the Small Fascists.

The Small Fascists are mostly domestically oriented capitalists like the Koch brothers looking to cut taxes for immediate profit. They are unwilling to spend money fighting wars to defend the worldwide U.S. empire. This means a racist gutting of social services at home and a retreat of U.S. imperialism internationally. Their base is mainly organized through evangelical churches and white nationalist movements. At the Republican National Convention, the Republicans were openly appealing to racist police terror and Klan-type vigilantism. It's not a party that can lead the U.S. in the world war that the Big Fascists are preparing for. Reject them all!

The Big Fascists, representing finance capital and the imperialist wing of the capitalist class, are looking to build a multiracial coalition to support U.S. imperialism. They need to win Black, Latin, Asian and white workers to sacrifice for finance capitalists like JP Morgan Chase and Exxon Mobil in a war with China, Russia or both. Reject them!

The party of the international working class is the Progressive Labor Party. Capitalism can never serve the needs of workers. It is a racist, sexist, decaying system. PLP says workers can run all aspects of society. That's communism.

U.S. imperialist Big Fascists unite behind Biden

The Small Fascists have gained power through the Republican Party, now led by president Donald Trump. He has succeeded in marginalizing Big Fascist Republicans such as the Bush family, Colin Powell, Robert Mueller, etc. We saw this at the DNC.

The Big Fascists trotted out military leaders, many of them Republicans. Republican politicians like former Ohio Governor John Kasich, former NJ Governor Christine Todd Whitman, and 27 former members of Congress came out in support of Biden.

Additionally, military leaders who served U.S. Imperialism overseas also came out for Biden. Colin Powell oversaw the invasion of Panama and Iraq in the 1990s, then helped the U.S. invade Iraq again in the 2000s. He endorsed Biden with over 70 former national security officials. Directors of the FBI and CIA (again many Republicans) are supporting Biden and the Democrats (NYtimes, 8/20).

While unity is essential for the Big Fascists—and deadly for the working class— it may not be enough to defeat the Small Fascists.

Consolidating the phony progressives

Over the last 15 years the Small Fascists have been able to seize upon opportunities that culminated in a Trump presidency. The Big Fascists need to appear anti-racist, anti-sexist, and pro working class while continuing to serve finance capital and build patriotism and pass some possible reforms in order to prepare for world war. So they continue to pander to Black and Latin workers.

In 2016, 12 percent of Sanders supporters ended up voting for Trump (NPR, 8/24/17). The Big Fascists need to win back these workers in 2020. So they enlisted misleaders like Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, and Michelle Obama to endorse Biden.

These Big Fascists know that they need to win Black workers to support Biden whose racist track record has become visible since announcing his candidacy. Biden worked with openly racist segregationists James Eastland and Strom Thurmond to pass racist anti-crime bills that led to the mass incarceration of mainly Black and Latin workers (NYTimes, 6/25/2019).

Racist and sexual predator Biden is not a point of strength for the Big Fascists. They installed a Black and South Asian woman Kamala Harris—a top prosecutor with a history of mass incarceration and a racist "lock em up" mentality—to attract a set of multiracial voters. They are riding on an identity politics ticket.

These Big Fascists view the November election as vital to the future of U.S. imperialism. The working class will lose either way. Our future lies with communism where workers run everything. As protests continue against racist police killings, the Big Fascist Democrats are trying to take protestors from the streets and into electoral politics. We need to organize in the streets against racism and against the entire capitalist system.✪

A communist commune for struggling youth

I regard the collective as the supremely important form of educational work.

-Anton Semyonovich Makarenko

A pandemic rages. There is no cure. Countless are infected; hundreds of thousands have died. The U.S. accounts for only four percent of the world population but over 25 percent of Covid-19 cases. Clearly the capitalists don't care about us; their only goal is profit. So, we are being shoved into factories, offices, and stores to die for their profit system. To complete the misery, capital demands that children be returned to schools without guaranteeing safety. Such is the logical conclusion to the capitalist educational system.

But there is an alternative to the absolute failure of this miserable racist, sexist, anti-working-class capitalist system and its so-called "education". And that is communist solidarity: production for need, mutual respect, and education for collective and individual development. A communist revolution is needed to transform society. Two great working-class revolutions have occurred within the last 100 years. The Bolshevik Revolution (1917) and the Chinese Revolution (1949). While both have been tragically reversed due to the seeds of capitalist practices, their early practices have yielded valuable lessons to be applied before and after our next successful revolution.

What can we learn from these revolutions now, especially in education? A good starting point is to examine some of the dramatic changes made in every sphere of life after The Russian Revolution.

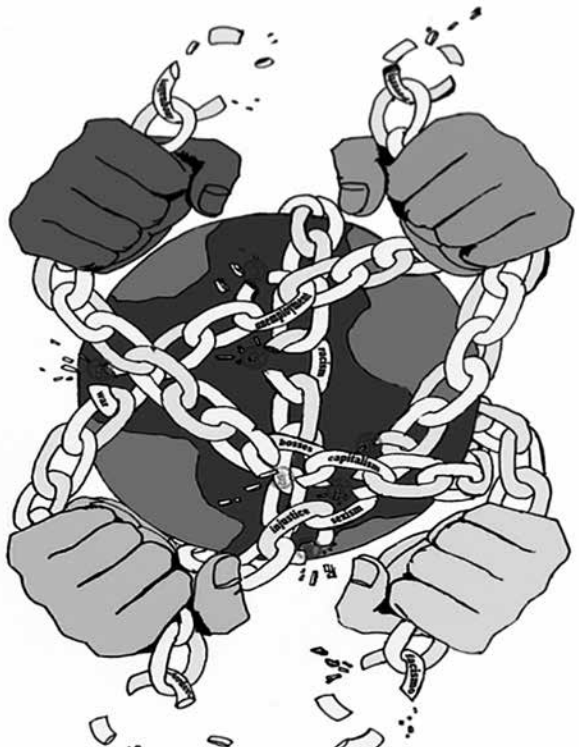
From 1914 to 1921 Russia, an already impoverished country ruled by a vicious ruling class, was devastated financially and militarily first by its involvement in World War I and then by a civil war created by the U.S., English, French and Polish imperialists. Eighty percent of its industry and transportation system was destroyed and agriculture and food distribution almost ceased. The new Soviet state faced immense problems of hunger, disease, and homelessness. These are the leftovers of the old capitalist society that was dealt with.

All children have role to play in leadership

Yet, despite the vast problems, many in the Soviet Union were eager to create a new society, a new humankind, a new collective spirit and an entirely new type of education. Among them was an educator, Anton Makarenko.

Born into a working class family in 1888, Makarenko became a teacher when he was 17 years old. Already convinced of the need for revolution he began his career in the midst of the first (1905) revolution organizing meeting places for revolutionary workers. Makarenko continued teaching and supporting revolutionary activity. By 1920 he had successfully taught hundreds and supervised thousands of students. In addition, he had begun to formulate a new educational system based upon the Marxist classics, Lenin's leadership and the Red Army's experiences.

In 1920 he was asked by the Educational Commissariat to organize the Poltava Colony for Young Offenders. Due to the destruction caused by WWI and the capitalist Civil War, tens of thousands of starving, orphaned children roamed the countryside and the cities in search of food and shelter. Many turned to crime to survive. They were thoroughly demoralized, angry, and divided by ethnic hatreds.



Makarenko began with six adolescents who had a criminal history, a windowless, doorless, broken down building, some poor farmland, no tools, no books, little food, and two teachers. The goal: to create the foundation of a communist educational collective. Completely uninterested in their past records, believing no one is born with "good" or 'bad" genetic characteristics Makarenko had a positive and optimistic outlook about each child's development. He found that all children, including those with profound psychological problems, had a role to play in leadership.

This was a time when the U.S. led a Jim Crow segregated education system, spewed racist pseudo-scientific ideas, and promoted individualism.

'Just as the working class and peasantry had overcome great social and personal problems to win a revolution, all children would, given respect and collectivity, become productive comrades.'

Utmost demand & utmost respect

The first months were rough. Untrusting, the children felt that this was just another prison. It took months before Makarenko gained their respect by forcefully demanding that they cut the firewood for the whole colony not just for themselves. It was a beginning. Based on his years of teaching and revolutionary activity Makarenko came to see that one must "place the utmost demands on a person and treat him with the utmost respect" in order to succeed.

He rejected physical punishment, which was a common measure in that period. Makarenko realized that just as the working class and peasantry had overcome great social and personal problems to win a revolution, all children would, given respect and collectivity, become productive comrades.

What the capitalist countries promote only in theory was already done in practice in the Soviet Union: emphasis on treating children with respect, providing a collective for children to learn, importance of adult models, learning as a social process, uniting manual and mental work as one, and more.

Amidst their poverty (and with some help from the central organizations), the children began to learn to raise their own food, repair their clothes, fix their dwelling and cobble together tools.

However, the main tasks Makarenko set before them was to collectively plan their communal needs. Many of the children were functionally illiterate. Yet despite their resistance to being in school, the demand was they learn the trades that kept the commune in repair. They began to work in teams gradually learning to think in wider collective needs not merely individualist needs. The children loved all this freedom and self-respect.

Over many years hundreds of children passed through the renamed "Gorky Colony." With more teachers and agronomists, engineers and the USSR's growing prosperity, the colony combined five hours of productive agricultural and industrial work and four hours political and conventional instruction. The intellectual labor and manual labor were united. Even within the first three years, the collective students were encouraged to become a partially self-governing commune. After seven years, Makarenko was asked to duplicate the success by founding a new collective of orphaned children, which became the Dzerzhinsky Commune.

'The Road to Life'

Makarenko wrote many books and articles about education which outlined his conclusions distilled from years of experience while educating thousands of children. One of his outstanding works, *The Road to Life,* is a record of the transformative experience of the Gorky Colony. It is a book to inspire all those teachers (and in fact everyone) who yearn for a free, respectful, socially conscious life: a communist life.✪

LETTERS

We encourage all CHALLENGE readers to send in letters and articles about their experiences fighting the bosses worldwide.

These are excerpted letters submitted by participants from the New Jersey Summer Project (see page 3). For the full version of all letters, go to www.plp.org

Stephen Crane CHALLENGE sale

For the first time, CHALLENGE newspapers were distributed in Stephen Crane Village. I live here and had been cynical about reaching out to residents, projecting my own individualist thinking onto them. I was surprised that my neighbors turned out to be more receptive than I'd believed. My neighbors are affected by Covid-19 and discriminatory housing practice just as I am.

I would love for Stephen Crane to be a regular distribution hub because the residents matter. It's a predominantly Black and Latin complex, and most are elderly, disabled, and rely on a fixed income.

I was apprehensive about distributing by the hospital because nearby Belleville is known to be pro-police. However, I was pleased to know that they were receptive to us.

★★★★★

The workers inspired me

I joined the PLP members on the streets of Newark, where I handed out issues of CHALLENGE with a headline about a nurses' strike. A few workers actually reading them in front of me inspired me.

Several people were intrigued, thanking me for the information or asking questions about communism. This community engagement invigorated my perception of communism from academic philosophy to activist reality.

That day, I also attended an open study group focused on abolishing borders and nationalism. I am excited to come back to PLP study groups and continue to spread CHALLENGE. Please continue with this important work.

★★★★★

I was amazed that this existed

I learned about the Progressive Labor Party from a member I met at a rally against the murder of George Floyd. I was listening to the progressive politician Larry Hamm talk about the need for better relations between the community and police. I didn't know Hamm too well, but said that he seemed like a pretty good guy. The PL'er shrugged and said he was trying to diffuse the anger in the community and push people toward using the electoral process as a solution for the police murdering Black people in America.

I was impressed and wasn't expecting such an answer from someone I didn't really know. I considered myself a communist already so I was happy to find out that this person was a communist too. It was during this discussion that I learned about PLP.

I have been in the DSA, but I was curious about this local communist party and reached out to PLP. I was amazed that this kind of thing existed [organized communists] in Newark; I had no idea. The reading group I had attended was interesting so I attended the project.

I helped distribute CHALLENGE to workers outside a member's workplace, participated in a motorcade where we blasted homemade communist chants over popular songs, and participated in more study groups where I learned more about the Party's line.

I don't agree with everything in the Party's line. For example, I don't necessarily accept that existing socialist countries were wrong to preserve the use of money and wages. I don't feel qualified to weigh in on that issue. But I don't have to agree with everything in PLP's line to know that this is an organization I want to be a part of. Props and solidarity to the Newark PLP chapter; thanks for organizing such a great summer project.

★★★★★

Smash all borders!

I attended a study group about immigration. Capitalists use borders to divide us and push people to imperialist countries to be super-exploited in exchange for a dream that never arrives.

One young woman shared how the U.S. was sold as the land of opportunity. Her mother sold all their belongings to move to the U.S. fleeing from gangs and poverty. Once here, she was faced with the realities of the capitalist, racist U.S. system, where she works all day for minimum wage but can barely provide for her children. She questions her decision, but fears it is too late to return.

Non-English speakers participated as robustly as anyone else in this multiracial and multi-generational crowd. This should be a given in any conversation, but usually immigrants are exiled to the back of the room and made to feel like they don't belong. Not in PLP.

But, we do have to make more progress in spreading the politics of no borders. Every member of PLP must be confident in saying that we don't want the immigration reform of liberal bosses; we want to do away with racist borders.

★★★★★

Healthcare worker fed up

I am a communist speaking out against the atrocities healthcare workers face. My experiences have destroyed my trust in the capitalist healthcare system. I did doubles and triple shifts for pennies while being the only Certified Nurse's Aide taking care of 45 patients. The head nurse ordered me: "I don't care if the patients are soiled. Just make sure that they are alive and there are no falls on my shift." This shows the workers how much the bosses care. All of this exploitation for a $20 gift card and $17 overtime.

Another example is when we asked for more Hoyer lifts to transfer patients without hurting our backs. Only one out of three is in working condition. The administration refused. Our labor is replaceable once we are injured.

The union 1199 is the glue to keep the workers' mouths shut. The union handbook states that it's illegal to strike or interfere with the operation of the employer as a partner of the union!

Another capitalist lie is if you try hard enough, you can start from the bottom and reach the top. This competitive attitude allows the bosses to profit. Racist, sexist ideology furthers individualist division. They want to keep us full of illusions, as class war rages in the streets. Meanwhile our brothers and sisters die in emergency rooms.

Attention! If you want to end oppression, our greatest weapon is communist revolution. It is time to organize and join PLP!

★★★★★

To defeat sexism, fight for communism

Can we fight for communism if we don't fight sexism? Can we eliminate sexism without a communist revolution? Study group participants answered both questions with a resounding "No!"

Sexism—oppression and exploitation based upon gender—is everywhere and so much a part of everyday experience that it is easy to detach it from capitalism and see it as just a reflection of "human nature." Yet, especially when conjoined with racism, sexism is immensely destructive to the working class.

Marxist class analysis enables us to root these beliefs, behaviors, and practices—sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly—in the political economy of capitalism. (Links to readings are online). Here are a few highlights from our discussion:

1. While there are biological differences, sexism in class society is rooted in the rise of private property (see Engels). Sexism is a historical consequence of relations of property ownership.

2. Identity politics and intersectionality caricature class analysis as "class reductionism" and direct attention away from capitalism as the source of inequality. It fosters further division.

We came away from the discussion with increased appreciation of the importance of linking communist practice with communist theory.

★★★★★

Worcester: Defeating the bosses' misleaders

Worcester, MA, August 25—Earlier this month our Progressive Labor Party (PLP) contingent in Worcester joined forces with members from Racism Free Worcester Public Schools, Defund Worcester Police, and Showing Up For Racial Justice to rally for working class students and demand that police be removed from the school system. An integrated and multi-racial group of nearly 75 workers took turns making speeches and leading chants in an effort to advance the battle against systemic racism during the event, which was called by the Massachusetts Human Rights Commission.

The small but mighty demonstration was held in Lincoln Square near the local police station. As leaders from different organizations took turns at the mic, PLP members made our line clear when we demanded this racist capitalist system be shut down.

Our members explained the school-to-jail pipeline and showed the crowd that allowing kkkops in our schools is hurting working class students. We explained that defunding the police isn't enough, we need to first kick them out of schools and furthermore fight for a world where racist murderers aren't handed guns and get out of jail free cards.

We also took the opportunity to explain the importance of multi-racial unity and fightback. An integrated, international working class is necessary to end capitalism.

As speeches wrapped up, we then led about 50 people from the original gathering across the street to the entrance of the police station. We led chants ranging from "Black Lives Matter" to "George Floyd" to chants that put the entire system and its lackeys on trial: "Nazi cops, you can't hide, we charge you with genocide!"

We later learned that the local police union equated us to terrorists and made demands that one of our comrades be fired from his current volunteer job. Albeit brief, our militant and organized moment of fightback was met with more pushback from the bosses than the rest of the reform demonstration.

These kkkops know that the bosses' capitalist system is currently protecting them and they know that when PLP comrades chant "SHUT THIS RACIST SYSTEM DOWN!" we're not calling for reforms, or reduced funding; we are calling for a workers' revolution, and nothing scares them more. ✪

Students need communist schools

Continued from page 8

forces the same lesson for us: a system that can't educate and care for its youth does not deserve to exist, and we must learn together what it will take to smash it. Join Progressive Labor Party!

No 'lost generations' for communists

Communists and many anti-racist education workers refuse to accept that Covid-19 will result in a "lost generation." We know that the working class is full of fighters, and that whether remote or in-person, education workers and students must use the sharp study of math, science, history and language to explore how Covid-19 reveals the racist poison of capitalism and the need for a new, communist society. In the event of a strike, we must organize outdoor "Freedom Schools" where we relate schoolwork to survival of this pandemic. We must conduct home visits for absent students. Parents and students must be invited to picket lines where

education workers can teach students while parents work or run essential errands. As during the recent anti-police rebellions, life's greatest lessons are learned in the class struggle. Each connection between workers is one seed of a communist future, when tended by a growing Progressive Labor Party.

Every worker can contribute to the fight for a better world. Both coronavirus and recent international anti-racist uprisings have led many youth to criticize and reject this political and economic system. These shifts in consciousness present an exciting opportunity, and we must ensure that the alienation felt by so many students is turned into class struggle, rather than nihilism and cynicism. We know that students can learn more from a single protest against police brutality than in a whole year of capitalist history curriculum. A better world is possible, and we need the power of the entire working class to create it! ✪

Pod-Schools Reveal True Nature of Capitalist Education

The ruling class is not treated as expendable. Ruling-class families and wannabes with enough wealth are not facing the lose-lose choice where in-person learning means risking one's life. Even in wealthy suburbs the public schools are not equipped to operate safely. For $25,000 a year, parents in wealthy suburbs can pay to have their children educated in backyard 'pod schools (NYT, 7/30). And further up the income ladder the most exclusive private schools are resourced enough to open for in-person socially distant instruction. Only workers face the lose-lose choice of returning to unsafe schools or staying home and leaving young minds to rot.

RED EYE ON THE NEWS . . .

Insurance bosses profit in Billion$ from Covid-19

NYT, 8/6 — The nation's leading health insurers are….reporting…earnings that are double…a year ago….

CVS Health, which owns Aetna…[and] also owns a large pharmacy benefit manager and a drugstore chain, said net income for the second quarter reached $3 billion, about $1 billion more than…the same period of 2019….Anthem's net income soared to $2.3 billion for the second quarter from $1.1 billion in 2019, while United Health reported net earnings of $6.7 billion compared to $3.4 billion for the same three months last year.

Although many hospitals have been overwhelmed by the coronavirus outbreaks,… insurers have shelled out less in medical claims…because expensive elective surgeries have been postponed….

The companies' staggering profits stand in stark contrast to the scores of small medical practices and rural hospitals that are struggling to stay open [while]…states are facing massive budget shortfalls as businesses collapse, unemployment rises and tax revenues plummet….

Insurers are currently spending a far lower portion of premium revenue on their customers' healthcare costs….That translates into millions of dollars that…should wind up in the pockets of consumers….The companies may have even higher profits than is apparent. Some like United Health have large networks of doctors and other health care businesses, in addition to owning giant pharmacy benefit managers. There are no limits on how much these units can make.

Medical bills' secrets: a single Texas virus test costs up to $6K

NYT, 8/7 — …A reader had taken his 1-year-old daughter to the emergency room because after her nails were clipped a bit too short, her finger starting spurting blood. The little girl was fine and received a disposable bandage….

The bill came: $629 for the visit. How…so much?....The real cost lay in fees that every emergency room charges just for walking in the door… Frustrated readers…had access to some of the most valuable, most private information in the American healthcare system

…What [are] people being charged when they get tested or treated for the coronavirus[?]….

…In the United States, hospitals and doctors' offices typically keep their prices secrets….America's health care prices are the highest in the world, and fees can vary drastically from one hospital or doctor's office to another…Last month…four patients who received coronavirus tests in one Texas emergency room [and were] totally unconnected to one another….showed that the price of a test could range from $199 to $6,408 — all in the same facility.

Pandemic wrecking mental health, hits Black workers the hardest

NYT, 8/7 — …According to the National Center for Health Statistics, roughly one in 12 American adults recorded symptoms of an anxiety disorder at this time last year; now it's more than one in three….A majority of American adults — 53 percent — believes that the pandemic is taking a toll on their mental health.

This number climbs to 68 percent if you look solely at African-Americans. The disproportionate toll the pandemic has taken on Black lives and livelihoods — made possible by centuries of structural disparities, compounded by the corrosive psychological effect of everyday racism — is appearing starkly in mental health data.

Black death penalty victims are the new lynchings

NYT, 8/4 — Black lives do not matter nearly as much as white ones when it comes to the death penalty….Defendants convicted of killing white victims were executed at a rate of 17 times greater than those convicted of killing Black victims….

[The] Supreme Court…. ruled that…race discrimination in the capital justice system did not offend the Constitution….

That…provides a haunting reminder of once-prevalent Southern lynchings….[The] McCloskey…decision....is the Dred Scott decision of our time….It is a declaration that African-American life has no value which white men are bound to respect….Killers of white people were more than four times as likely to be sentenced to death as killers of Black people….

A new study….found that 22 of the 972 defendants convicted of killing a white victim were executed, compared to two of the 1,503 defendants convicted of killing a Black victim….

A…2017 study compared…homicides from 1975 to 2005 and executions from 1976 to 2005….

About half of the victims were white…but three-quarters of the defendants put to death had killed a white person. About 46 percent of the victims were Black, but only 15 percent of defendants who were executed had killed a Black person.

Joblessness concentrated in working-class neighborhoods

NYT, 8/7 — The economic damage from the coronavirus [has] some of the worst economic pain…in…neighborhoods where workers who have endured the broadest job losses live. In corners of the South Bronx, South Los Angeles or the South Side of Chicago, unemployment is concentrated to a breathtaking degree. And it means that other problems still to come — a wave of evictions, deepening poverty, more childhood hunger — will be geographically concentrated, too.

…Neighborhood-level unemployment rates suggest that…one out of three workers in these areas are jobless….In New York City,…parts of the Bronx were experiencing the Great Depression…. Concentrated distress in these neighborhoods could also have long-term consequences for the children growing up there….

…Black female food-service workers…[are] most severely affected in this downturn….The coronavirus economic shock has divided cities into neighborhoods where most people can work from home and neighborhoods where most can't. And because the latter group is disproportionately made up of Black and Latin workers, those lines also largely follow patterns of racial segregation, as in Chicago.

As of June, the Chicago metro area had an unemployment rate of 15.6 percent…. [But] … in neighborhoods on the predominantly African-American South Side, the unemployment rate was more than double that….Workers in the lowest quintile of income have experienced three times as many job losses as workers in the highest quintile….

In Los Angeles, job losses appear to be the most severe in South Los Angeles, in predominantly Latin parts of the city.

SCHOOL REOPENING, A LOSE-LOSE DILEMMA FOR STUDENTS

After the experience last spring, students, parents, and teachers know that remote learning is a degraded and degrading replacement for in-person instruction. Students learn less. At the same time, the stubborn push by both wings of the U.S. ruling class to reopen schools is driven by their reckless drive for profits and need for social control. In New York City, the United Federation of Teachers, a union born in racism and anti-communism (see CHALLENGE, 3/27/14) has begun strike preparations while making no provisions to care for student instruction or counseling. It's clear that the remote vs. in-person debate is a racist, lose-lose proposition for the working class.

Capitalist schooling trains us to treat the working class as expendable. We are taught that it is inevitable that some workers and youth will be homeless, unemployed, or incarcerated. Education workers are habituated to accept some dropouts, suspensions, and failure as unavoidable. As much as capitalist schools teach expendability, they also strive to teach patriotism and build loyalty to U.S. imperialism. If millions of youth are left without the grip of social control while the facade of stability crumbles around us, imperialists will have a harder time winning workers to fight a war with China.

That's why we fight for communism, where no worker or child will be treated as expendable because we will eliminate the profit motive that drives all aspects of this society.

A divided U.S. ruling class is united in contempt for workers' lives

We can see the capitalists' "doctrine of worker expendability" in full view within both wings of the divided U.S. ruling class. For Trump and his gang of domestically-oriented bosses, orders to "reopen the schools now!" means more short-term profits, maintaining credibility with an anti-science base, and advancing their openly racist, nationalist "America-First" re-election campaign, all while adding fuel to the flame for fascist ideas like "the survival of the fittest."

The stakes to reopen the schools and economy are much higher for the dominant, imperialist wing of the ruling class, represented in New York City by Democratic Governor Andrew Cuomo and Mayor Bill de Blasio. Despite crumbling infrastructure, the imperialist wing bosses are scrambling to reopen schools in finance-capital's home base of New York in hopes of restoring a sense of legitimacy to U.S. capitalism, both globally and domestically. They will need to win workers to fight yet another imperialist war.

A "lost generation" disillusioned and unfit for this task will hinder their ability to wage such a war. Liberals' phony, silver-tongued appeals to workers that "we are all in this together" and empty assurances that "we are ready" show that the liberal wing is the main danger to the working class. They are just as ready as ever to have workers die from both Covid-19 and World War III for their long-term profits.

The blatant disregard for workers' lives shown by both wings of the U.S. ruling class is a hallmark of rising fascism. Capitalists of any stripe are workers' enemies.

Dangers of remote learning

Opening schools with few safety resources and protocols will prove deadly to workers and students, but remote learning has its own dangers—especially for those that cannot afford to have an adult in the home every day. Not to mention the added trauma for students in temporary housing or shelters! Real collaboration, social interaction, and hands-on learning are nonexistent. We cannot simply reflexively accept the disastrous and racist choice to have young minds rot at home.

Remote learning runs the risk of piling on another layer of normalized neglect to the already-callous and racist culture of capitalist schooling. Black, Latin, and immigrant working-class students face the brunt of this attack, whether it is due to limited, inconsistent or lack of computer and Internet access, the need to work to support their families, or in a home with no quiet space to do schoolwork. So too do students with special needs and language needs. Assuming students have the personal organization and technological skills to learn remotely, this extensive screen time is linked to altered sleep cycles and affects students' physical and mental health (Johns Hopkins Newsletter, 4/20). Not to mention how profoundly isolating the experience is for developing minds and bodies.

Lives are not expendable, and neither are minds.

Reopening school

Capitalists hold state power, for now. They will reopen their schools, sooner or later. Vaccination, once safe and effective, will reduce but not eliminate risk. There is no possibility of returning to "safe schools." Poor ventilation, budget cuts and massive layoffs that hurt working-class schools hardest, inadequate disinfection, and insufficient physical distancing and PPE measures all mean no safe schools. The families who need schools the most will send their kids in first,and love their kids no less than anyone else. More than learning, schools provide health services, lunch, physical therapy, language, counseling and other related services. Calling to keep schools closed "until they're safe" without recognizing this reality, and without genuine planning for student needs, undermines the cause of building working-class solidarity.

Despite examples of parent-teacher-student unity during this current crisis, there remains a possibility that the working class—students, parents, and teachers—could emerge from this crisis even more fractured. This potential for division may be the greatest danger of all. Education workers must fight back alongside their students against the bosses' system, which has set our class up to fail in what will certainly be a tougher school year. Every rotten aspect of capitalist schools rein-

Continued on page 7

What Would Communists Do?

In a communist society, our education system would be centered around societal needs. Free of the chains of profit, all sectors of society would be mobilized to collectively combat a crisis like Covid-19. We would rapidly and massively invest labor and materials to retrofit school buildings, improve ventilation and sanitation systems, and convert spaces for temporary learning while we develop a vaccine. Of course, schools would have been built and maintained in the interest of student health and safety in the first place! Moreover, education under communism would surely not be confined to school buildings. In the face of a pandemic, workers and youth would learn in the midst of struggle from a young age. We could train thousands to create and administer Covid-19 tests and to develop methods of contact tracing, as well as distribute food to those who may not be able to leave their homes. We would undertake campaigns as the Soviet Union did to train young people to take leadership in practical, creative work in the farms and factories, or as China did sending students into the countryside during the Cultural Revolution.

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